1: Opler

NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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/For additional information on the training of adolescent boys in the military skills necessary for them to take their place as adults in Chiricahua society, see also category 868./

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881 only be guaranteed by separate arrangements between them and
182 the sponsors of the ceremony. Various aspects of the rite, such as the masked dancing and the singing within the ceremonial structure, have but the loosest relations to one another from a purely logical point of view. Yet everyone regards the ritual as a unity and accepts that somehow all the necessities will be secured and the integration achieved in time-honored fashion. No threat to individual rights is made, and there is no danger of reprisal for failure to respond. The motive force is primarily psychological. Because the people at large share in the blessing of the girl and because the ceremony provides them with an eagerly awaited social occasion, to take part in the total round of activities becomes almost a public duty.

THE NOVITIATE FOR RAID AND WAR

881 When the boy reaches the age at which the girl is elevated to
868 womanhood, he is still undergoing the hardening process. Tasks
702 allotted to the young woman can be graduated according to her strength, but the young man on the raid must cover the same distance and suffer the same hardships as the sturdiest member of the party. Therefore, his social maturation is slower.

At about his sixteenth year the youth approaches manly standards. Yet he is not permitted to plunge recklessly from raiding games to the dangerous reality of stealing the horses of the enemy. Instead, he must serve an apprenticeship on his first four raiding or war expeditions. During this period, though he is exposed to a minimum of danger, he acquires the experience which will enable him to undertake with confidence the hazards of war. This novitiate constitutes the conventionalized mechanism through which the youth reaches adult status.

881 Before a boy is accepted as a novice, he learns how to care for
868 himself on the march, especially what to do if he should become
702 separated from the others:
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My relatives and the older men told me, "If you are going on a journey from here, have the women pound meat and fat for you, enough for a week. Take water. Then at sundown, just when it is dark enough so that you can't be seen in the distance, start out. Try to make it across the flats and to the mountains on the other side by daybreak. Then get in the brush and look around. Keep in the

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brush until night and then start out to the next mountain range. Don't go across flats in the day. Only travel day and night if you are in the mountains." 868 881

About water they told me this: "If you don't know where there is water, get up on a high place and look for the green spots. Where there are trees and green grass growing, there you will find water. Don't go to it in the day though. Enemies look for you there. No matter how thirsty you are, wait until night comes. Then go there, drink, and fill up any water container you have brought with you." 702 484

Also they told me to go to sleep in a place from which I could get to cover quickly. And they told me, "Even if it is a hot day, don't go to the deep shade. Go under a little bush in the open or under grass. The first place a Mexican or another Indian or a wild animal looks when it comes along is in the shade, and there you are. If you are in the tall grass and hear something, just pick some grass up, hold it before you, and look through it. Then it will be hard to see you, especially from a distance. If you are out where the brush is heavy and you want to conceal yourself without moving, just take a branch which is to the right or left and pull it in front of you."

I was spoken to in this manner also. "If you see someone in the distance and don't know who it is, pick out a place from which you can get to cover easily but which is in the open and visible from this cover. Take grass and make a fire and put evergreen on to make a heavy smoke. Then put it out at once and run to the place from which you can see well. The person will come over to the place where the fire was, and you can tell who he is. You are in a good place from which to strike or get away if he is an enemy, and you can go to him if he is a friend.

"If you are lost or want to find someone, make a fire and a smoke and put it out. Look around then. Your friends will make one too and then you'll find them. If you want someone to follow you, send up smoke and at the place put a notched stick pointing toward the direction in which you went. Your friends will find it. They will come in to your people and say, 'The fire looks as though it was made two or three days ago; we'd better follow at once.'" [487]

They told me how to camp out in bad weather too. They said: "In winter try to find a tree with wide branches, for there will be less snow under it than in other places. Rake away what snow is there. Find a dry spot, cut branches, and pile them on it, and put your robe on them. Sleep near a fire there. Build the fire on top of the ground if you are not going to stay long. If you are going to camp there for some time, dig a pit."

There is no definite age at which a boy must join his first expedition: "When a boy is old enough, he volunteers." Though there is no compulsion to participate, the physically fit who wish to enjoy material benefits can hardly choose another course. Because of its practical and ceremonial extensions this apprenticeship is indispensable to successful warfare, and the man who has 881 868 702 721 [554]

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881 not undergone it is not cheerfully received by members of a raid-
868 ing party he seeks to join. "Some do not volunteer. They are
702 looked down upon. They cannot go on the warpath." Yet the
721 youth who is unprepared is not goaded into premature participa-
tion. "If a boy thinks he can't stand it, he doesn't go." Nor does any boy start out ignorant of what he faces: "When a boy wants to volunteer, his relatives tell him of the hardships and dangers. If he still wants to go, they let him."

Once a boy has declared his intention of becoming a novice, he receives advice to guide his conduct during the four expeditions:

The first four times are important because, if a man shows himself to be unreliable and disobedient these first four times, that will remain his nature throughout expeditions and battles. The boys are told this, and they try to be at their best during this time. So they don't cause much trouble.

[834] While you are a novice you have to watch out for your morals. If you are loose when you come back from one of these expeditions and have a lot of sexual
[867] intercourse, it will be your nature through life. Boys are instructed from the start about this. These things are impressed on them: "Don't be a coward;
[577] don't be untruthful; don't eat too much when you come back to camp between raids, or that will be your nature." So during the entire period the boy puts out his best [effort] and behaves his best.

881 One informant testified that the necessary information was
868 imparted to him by his [illegible]. Another claimed that "a relative
702 teaches the boy; a spe[illegible]n is not needed." Yet from still
756 other accounts it is clear that shamans whose rites center about
721 the location and frustration of the enemy and the granting of invulnerability in battle often prepare the youths for these
[714] journeys. Their selection is logical, for "these shamans, the 'bow shamans,' also make the jackets and other things which protect
[561] a man in battle." Often a number of young men of the same age are put in the care of one shaman.

All the volunteers are gathered and instructed by the shaman. They are taught the words and how they should conduct themselves. They are given a general outline of what they should do. It takes just a few days to learn.

[714] The inexperienced boys who are on the raid for the first time have a certain
[291] kind of hat. And they are the only ones who have the drinking-tube along. The
[413] drinking-tube has a scratching-stick attached to it; that is, on the same cord. This scratching-stick is about five inches long and is made from the wood of any tree that bears fruit.

[714] The shaman in charge of the boys makes the hats for them. There is no pay-

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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881 868 702 721 784 [513] [261] [262] sleep before the others would show indolence and would cause all the members of the party to be drowsy. The novice is cautioned against eating heartily lest he become gluttonous, and he is forbidden to eat choice parts of the meat or anything from the inside of the animal. When captured stock is killed on the return journey, the tough neck part is set aside for him. Also the ban against anything from the inside of an animal is then relaxed, and novices may be fed lung so that the stock will not become exhausted before the party reaches home.

881 868 702 721 Although his conduct is so important for the success of the expedition, the novice is obliged to gain his practical experience in a subordinate capacity:

> They take the novices four times for the rough work but won't let them fight. It is to toughen them, they say.
>
> The novices have to get the water and wood and do the heavy work around the camp when the men stop for the night. The men order them around pretty much. They must get up early in the morning and build the fire and care for the horses if there are any along. They are told, "Go over there and get those horses," and they have to go pretty fast. They have to do the cooking and make beds for the men. Sometimes they carry provisions for the men too. The men make these boys stay up on guard. They are the only ones who do guard duty.

881 868 702 721 192 The words which the boy learns and which he is instructed to use during his first four raiding journeys constitute a vocabulary of circumlocutory elements which replace ordinary forms of speech: "They had ceremonial words. Just the novice used them and only while he was out on the raid. The old men taught them these words and said, 'This is the novice's talk.'" In the raid or war vocabulary the term for heart becomes "that by means of which I live"; the customary word for pollen is replaced by a form which can be translated "that which is becoming life"; the owl is referred to as "he who wanders about at night," etc. Approximately eighty forms belonging to this special vocabulary have been collected. It is probable that the vocabulary was never a great deal more extensive, for the novice continues to designate most objects in the usual manner.[15]

[15] For a full analysis of the vocabulary see Opler and Hoijer, "The Raid and War-Path Language of the Chiricahua Apache," *American Anthropologist*, October-December, 1940.

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Although the novices are expected to share the hardships of the journey, they are guarded from actual physical danger. The loss of a novice reflects upon the leadership of the raid, for the youth is under the protection of ritual and is present primarily for experience.

But raiding in enemy country is hazardous work at best, and sometimes the raiders, when they go forward on a particularly dangerous mission, must leave the novice at a distance so that he will not be drawn into battle. Then, if they encounter difficulties or superior forces, they may be unable to reach him again. Novices deserted in this way have perished or have suffered great hardship before reaching their homes.

Not all boys who begin this apprenticeship pass through it successfully. "If a boy is unreliable and doesn't show improvement, they don't take him out any more. They just drop him."

No special raiding parties are organized for the convenience of the novice. "The boys are taken on when there is trouble and many raids take place; then they get through in a hurry." Depending upon the needs of the encampments and the state of intertribal relations, as much as a year may elapse between the first and the fourth journeys.

Unless there is sharp criticism of the young man's conduct on the last journey, when he returns home he belongs to the ranks of the men. Of him it is said, "He has just moved up to adulthood": "It means that he has arrived at the point where he is a real man. He doesn't have to stay at home. He is free to do what he will and to have his own views. He can smoke now, and he can marry."

When the next raid or war party is announced, this new adult may participate in the war dance and commit himself to the undertaking on a different basis: "The fifth time the restrictions are off; there are no obligations to rule the young men. After the first four trips, after the apprenticeship, these youths are put first in battle to try them out. The fifth time out they are expected to be in the front ranks."

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726 [724] are clumsy and because when it gets warm the water gets a pitchy taste. Some might go on horseback and some on foot. Each man cooks for himself; each man eats what he has. If they capture horses from the enemy, each man ropes the best horse he can.

726 701 756 302 The leader or a shaman sometimes decorates the faces of the members of the group:

There is no special way of face-painting for all warriors. Some leader like Geronimo who has special power might decorate his men as his power directs him. Geronimo used to mark his men on the forehead, the sides of the face, and across the nose.[1] It was his own way though and not the way of all the Chiricahua.

726 702 868 Attached to the party sometimes are novices, though there is a tendency to encourage their attendance on the less hazardous raids instead:

Just the young boy, the novice who is fourteen or fifteen years old, takes a stick and reed for scratching himself and for drinking water. They have to use the sacred language while they are out. These boys have to use this kind of talk around camp too as long as they are novices. On the warpath or raid the men call the novice Child of the Water.

726 [756] On the journey the shaman's advice is a powerful influence in determining the decisions of the leader:

Any big war party will have a shaman along to tell them how to get success. He tells them whether to go to the open country or whether to keep back in the hills where the enemy are. They don't have to take any certain shaman along on a war party. There is sure to be some regular warrior along who has power.

Of the time and manner of attack on enemy camps, this account has been given: "We usually attack early in the morning. We are quiet when we go to attack. We fight in hand-to-hand action, and the individual can advance or retreat according to his chance and how the fight is going. In the battle the men obey the leader."

726 701 The role of the leader in the actual conflict is a central one:

Before the engagement each leader would talk to his group and encourage them. He would go before them in battle and perform great feats to spur them on. After the engagement he had to lead his men to safety and water.

[1] One informant gave a secular reason for the face-painting: "The white paint on the faces of Geronimo's men was to mark them in battle so they wouldn't kill their own men."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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BOY TRAINING, RAIDING, AND WAR

883 868 147 526 Shortly after the Apache boy reached the age of puberty, his relatives took measures to strengthen and harden him. They insisted that he rise very early in the morning and perform certain duties, such as driving the horses to or from pastures. An older male relative undertook the task of training him at this period. He might order the boy to test his strength against a young tree and pull it up by the roots, or to lift and throw a heavy stone. The boy was made to run long distances up hill with a load on his back and when he returned had to spit out water which he had been given to hold in his mouth at the start of the run. Often he had to race in this manner in competition with other boys of his age, and the one who lagged behind felt the switch of some older man who accompanied the youths. Sometimes these boys chose sides and opposed each other in strenuous mock battles in which blunt arrows and light lances were the weapons used. Foot races, bareback horse riding, and wrestling matches were part of a program as arduous as the boy's elders could devise. In winter the boy had to roll in the snow, and when the ice formed on the lakes, he was taken early one morning and tossed into the water. Often he was made to keep awake the entire night or for an even longer period, in order to prove that he could stand guard over the camps with the men when danger threatened.

• 702 868 883 Later on, when the youth was about sixteen years old, he entered a critical period of training, designed to leave him an accredited warrior. During this period he had to attend four raids or war parties, not as a fighter or participant, but as an apprentice and servant to the older men. Until he had fulfilled his obligations the boy wore a single eagle feather in his hair and had to be careful of all that he said and did. Moral laxity, disobedience, or laziness at this time would fix these undesirable traits in his character for life. On these first four expeditions he took with him a reed drinking tube and a wooden scratcher, for he could not allow water to touch his lips, nor might he scratch his skin with his nails.

[415] [271] [413]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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with his nails. He obeyed a number of food and behavior restrictions during these journeys. He spoke in a special "war-path language" that had been taught him, in which all sacred subjects and objects that have to do with the raid and war-path were referred to by other than the ordinary terms. Thus a horse was called "one with nose to the ground," pollen was called, "it renews life," and a mountain in enemy country was called, "one I have not seen before." During these first four expeditions the boy had to obey every order of the warriors. He went for the water, built the fires, cared for the horses, and stood watch over the camp. He was not expected to share any of the fighting or dangers of these first four journeys, but when he went for the fifth time, with his apprenticeship and boyhood behind him, he felt obligated to act with conspicuous bravery.

Apache war dances and victory dances were vigorous representations by the warriors of the battle to come or the conflict from which they had just emerged. A large fire was kindled in the evening at a level place. To the side of it singers squatted before large pieces of rawhide. The singers beat the hide with sticks and began the war songs. They would call the name of the warrior and ask him to show what he would do or had done. With a bound the warrior named would appear before the fire in full battle array, and by flourishing his weapons, dodging dexterously to avoid the enemies' arrows, and engaging in a pantomime of the encounter, he would depict his prowess in war. Then others would be called until all those who were connected with the expedition had a chance to participate.

Women watched the dancing from a little distance and occasionally uttered a high-pitched, keening-like cry which indicated applause, but no woman took part in the dance. During this dance all women had to be addressed as White-Painted Woman, the most prominent character of her sex in Apache mythology and the mother of the culture hero.